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The Week

ITALY has forsworn intervention. Facing a domestic situation which looks more and more like revolution the government declares that henceforth Italy will "in no-wise favor Admiral Kolchak's scheme nor intervene in any way in the internal affairs of Russia or Hungary, but will recall Italian troops from foreign service with the Allied expeditions." Its renunciation is complete. On Tuesday there arrived in Naples the steamer Cablons, sailing from London with munitions for Kolchak. Thereupon the Italian government made first payment on its promise of non-intervention. Dockers made the crew of the Cablons unload their cargo. The government approved. Simultaneously the government has made other promises. It will regulate prices, free political prisoners, hasten demobilization, break up the general staff. Certainly Italy's withdrawal from Russia will have a profound effect in the Allied countries, no less upon the peoples than on the governments.

THE Allied governments still hold back from a declaration of the policy they will pursue in respect to the blockade on Russia. Different prophecies are made. The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Paris, declares that "the United States has constantly insisted that there has been no blockade agaist Russia except such as is incidental to the embargo on imports to Germany." But Mr. Oulahan cables to the New York Times that a continued blockade is probable, and that "pressure" (League or no League?) may be applied to the neutrals to make them come in. Meantime, from London, a correspondent of the New York Tribune predicts that the blockade "may be lifted at any time." His prophecy is not based on a belief that the western democracies have seen the horror of starving a people because its government holds undesirable theories of ownership. "Lenin," he says, "has considerable gold and it is reported he is willing to pay cash for goods."

THE Bolshevik armies are in "Kolchak's pincers." That was the announcement made on Tuesday by Mr. Sack of the pro-Kolchak Russian Information Bureau. But Thursday brought the news that Soviet troops had gone a hundred and sixty miles southeast from Perm and driven Kolchak from Ekaterinburg. That is a heavy loss. For Ekaterinburg, in the heart of the Ural coal and iron mines, is a city of great manufactures—Kolchak's chief base of supply. Almost simultaneously there has been military action in the west. On Saturday a cable brought news of the Finnish army. The Finns had recently been ordered by the Council of Five to advance and seize Petrograd. Instead at least one entire Finnish army appears to have been routed. Finally on Monday came a London dispatch announcing that Denikin in the south "has been obliged to make another retreat owing to a further landing" from the Caspian Sea of Bolshevist reinforcements.

A NEW factor has made its appearance in the social and political life of Germany: Large scale strikes have broken out among the agricultural workers. Work has been stopped in many parts of Pomerania and East Prussia. These provinces form the classic land of the junkers. With the revolution the agrarian workers acquired for the first time the right to organize. They have tried to make wage agreements with the proprietors. But the junkers are as stiff-necked in peace as in war. And the strikes have followed. Crops are not immediately endangered, says the Prussian Department of Agriculture. There is still a month before the harvest. In that time a temporary peace may be patched up. But it will be more than a month before the land barons of eastern Germany bow to any government which has yet made its appearance in Berlin.

A NEW statement by General Jan Smuts shows him more clearly than ever the most resolute liberal now in high office.

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To the people of England he gave counsel on Ireland, Germany and Russia. Ireland, he said, had become "a chronic wound, whose septic effects are spreading to our whole system, and through its influence on America is beginning to poison our most vital foreign relations." "Our statesmen . . . may not shirk from applying to Ireland the same medicine they applied to Bohemia and many another part of Europe." Turning to Germany General Smuts said, "You cannot have a stable Europe without a stable and settled Germany. You cannot have a stable and settled Britain while Germany is weltering in confusion . . . Do not let us deal with Ebert as we have dealt with Kerensky and Karolyi."

IT is what General Smuts says of Russia that should cut most deeply into the blundering councils of the Associated Powers. "Our military forces, tanks, and war materials may temporarily bolster up one side," he says, "but the real magnitude of the problem is quite beyond such expedients." What then? Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt an attitude of friendly neutrality and impartiality toward all parties. "It may well be that the only ultimate hope for Russia is a sobered, purified Soviet system, and that may be far better than barbarism, to which our present policy seems inevitably tending. Be patient with sick Russia. Give her time and sympathy. And await the results of her convalescence."

IN their National Conference the French Socialists have instructed their deputies in the Chamber to vote against ratification of the peace treaty. The party sums up its criticism on lines which its earlier statements have followed: "veiled annexation" of the Saar Valley; distribution of the German colonies as "spoils"; "obvious violations of popular rights in East Prussia"; a settlement "opposed to the best interests of France, against whom it everywhere prepares hatred and every kind of conflict." The League of Nations is an "hypocrisy" whose initiation "was accompanied by a violation of right in which certain of the Allies were victims—China, for instance,—despoiled of Shantung for the profit of Japan." To this final position has come the one group in France that did not regard Mr. Wilson as a meddler.

ARE these French Socialists, the "intellectuals," going far beyond the temper of the sober working groups? A recent issue of Le Populaire reports the national Congress of the most important trade union in France—the Railwaymen. This union, it seems, sent "fraternal greetings" to "all those revolutionaries who valiantly pursue their task of renovation—in Russia as well as in Germany and Hungary." The Congress, so one of its resolutions declared, "reproves any action of a military or diplomatic nature which is aimed at crushing the revolutions now taking place, either politically or economically; it also demands that the troops in Russia be recalled." Nothing that the Socialist party has done outdistances the action of these French trade unionists.

A SUMMARY of the completed treaty with Austria has been cabled to America. It indicates that the same procedure of assessing reparations is to be used in the case of Austria as is used in the case of Germany. The same committee, in fact, is ultimately to fix a figure which for the present remains indefinite. In the Austrian settlement what is particularly vital to the world's peace is the honesty with which national boundaries have been drawn. The summary hints at certain provisions—says, for instance, that Czechoslovakia is to have a bridgehead "on the Danube, opposite Presbourg"; but it will not be possible to form a judgment of the territorial terms in the completed treaty until its full text has been published.

PROOF of Republican strength in the Senate is provided by the manner in which Democratic Senators have begun to sound the Republicans on what they think of "interpretative reservations." Reservations of this sort would merely state the views of the United States, on points to which objection was taken, and would not assert our refusal to be bound by them. It is rumored that Mr. Wilson would accept certain reservations of this kind. But if the Republicans compromise, if they abandon a resolute opposition to Article X and Shantung, they will be throwing away the two best issues they have placed before the American people since any of the present Senators came into office.

SENATOR SWANSON'S address advertised by some of the newspapers as the keynote speech in the campaign for ratification without amendment, was at no time particularly strong. But it was weakest in its defence of the surrender of Shantung to Japan. "It's like rewarding a person who has driven away a burglar," Mr. Swanson said. "Japan did just that, and now is entitled to recover the cost of that expensive operation." To what reward is America entitled, if not to an honorable settlement in the Far East?

IT is Woodrow Wilson who writes this paragraph (in A History of the American People, vol. 4): "In April, 1844, Mr. Tyler sent to the Senate a treaty of annexation which he had negotiated with Texas. Secret negotiations, a piece of business privately carried to completion and made public only when finished, suited well with the President's temper and way of action. A man naturally secretive, naturally fond, not of concealments, but of quiet and subtle management, not insincere, but indirect in his ways of approach, he relished statecraft of this sort and no doubt liked the Texas business all the better because it seemed to demand, in its very nature, a delicate and private handling. The Senate rejected the treaty by the very decisive vote of 16 to 35, men of both parties alike being irritated that the President should spring this weighty matter upon the country in such a fashion, taking no counsel beforehand save such as he chose to take."

IN Washington, during the recent race riots, negroes were surrounded in the streets, dragged from street-cars, and beaten by mobs of soldiers, sailors and civilians. This was in retaliation for certain attacks on white women during the past month. But, as is often the case, the violence had not even the doubtful virtue of being aimed at the real culprits. According to the New York Times, "a number

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of disturbances were caused by civilians who, when a crowd of soldiers and sailors collected, pointed to *any negro who might be passing* and yelled, 'There he goes!' Such outcries generally were followed by an attack upon the negro by some of the sailors and soldiers." Instances of this brutal baiting took place within a block of the White House. Had they occurred, let us say, in Moscow, we should unfailingly have hailed them as evidence of a nation's inability to govern itself.

ON a single page of one of the New York newspapers there appeared on Thursday news of the following events: a street railways strike in Boston involving 8,000 workers; a shipping strike in New York that kept 400 vessels at their wharves; a complete tie-up of the Shore Line Electric Railway from Webster, Mass., to New Haven, Conn.; a strike vote being taken in Chicago by 15,000 surface and elevated railway employees; a strike of telephone operators and linemen in Cleveland; a strike of 8,000 workers in the International Harvester Company, of Chicago; a lockout of 100,000 building trades workers by Chicago contractors; and announcement of a possible strike ballot to be taken by twenty-four unions affiliated in the steel industry.

FOR all this conflict there is no one formula. High prices, refusal of union recognition, hours disputes and other issues are interwoven. But what is certain is that we are ill prepared for the unrest to which these disputes may be the prelude. We had a National War Labor Board which served rudely as a court of industrial justice, during the war. We have discontinued it. We had a federal employment service which was beginning to show national efficiency. Congress clipped its wings. Congress, lavish with its pork bills, has provided only a pittance for the federal bureaus which carry on inquiries into the causes of disputes throughout the country. One small office, known as the Bureau of Mediation and Conciliation, is now flooded with a business ten times too large for it. Meantime the wise committeemen of Congress draw espionage bills to bring us peace and appropriation bills to insure prosperity.

BEFORE an Investigating Committee in New York City Mr. James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, declared that "the legitimate labor organizations look upon Bolshevism as a joke." Mr. Holland left the committee some comfort, however, by distinguishing between legitimate and illegitimate. The Women's Trade Union League had Bolshevist tinges, he thought. So did the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The first of these organizations is one that the old-line opponents of women's rights in industry have consistently rebuffed; the second has won the textile trades almost entirely away from the A. F. of L. unions. Mr. Holland follows the course of other A. F. of L. leaders when he ridicules Bolshevism, in the A. F. of L., and then uses it as a weapon against "outsiders."

UNDER the headline "Church Programme Hits at Radicals" the New York Times prints a new statement made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Actually the programme contains recommendations of a most liberal sort: payment of the war debt "by those most able to bear it"; release of conscientious objectors; "living wages, reasonable hours, safe conditions of labor, equal opportunities and pay for women"; participation of workers "in management and ownership"; abolition of child labor; and "the larger part of excess profits . . . to be devoted voluntarily to public uses or returned by taxation." The headline, misguiding to the hasty reader, is typical of the way liberal views are often handled when they come from a source that cannot be ignored.

"CLASS consciousness and the use of violence," continues the Church Council's statement, "are not confined to revolutionary groups. The possession of wealth and education tends to the formation of classes, and industrial ownership to a class conscious ruling group. We observe, also, with regret, numerous resorts to mob action in which returned soldiers and workmen have sometimes participated, frequently without police restraint; the continuing incitement to riot by certain public officials and periodicals; and the unfortunate and dangerous tendency of many state and municipal officials to deny fair hearings to radical offenders, and to use unnecessary and provocative brutality during strikes."

Exhibit A: Shantung

AS a result of the outcry over Shantung one may inspect the structure of Mr. Wilson's diplomacy in the making of peace.

America prepares to enter the war, not merely to protect American rights on the high seas, but to make the world safe for democracy.

On the invitation of America, a weak nation, China, is invited to follow suit.

It is perfectly well known that one of our prospective associates in the war, Japan, has an aggressive policy towards China.

It is equally well known that another of our prospective associates, Britain, has an alliance with Japan.

It is equally well known that American assistance is absolutely vital. With the utmost decency, we take no advantage of this fact. We ask no reward out of our friend's necessities. But at the same time we neglect to safeguard the interests of our ward, China.

America makes no inquiries about the promise being made to Japan concurrently with America's decision to wage the war for no material gain of her own.

As the war progresses the State Department hears persistent rumors of the secret pledges to Japan. (We assume that it heard about them because everybody else did. See Evening Post July 16th.) Nothing tangible is done to protect China's interest, entrusted to our safekeeping.

The peace conference meets. For the first time the secret pledges are revealed.

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America does not insist upon their abrogation because Japan threatens to bolt the conference. The President's theory is that anything, even our honor towards China, should be sacrificed to the creation of a League in which America guarantees the possessions and the acquisitions of her associates. Put bluntly, they sell us the right to guarantee them for the fulfillment of their secret treaties.

This of course completely reverses the true state of affairs; it was our business to sell them our guarantee in return for an abandonment of their secret pledges.

This is the crux of Mr. Wilson's failure as a negotiator. He never seemed to realize that in creating the League he was giving Europe infinitely more than she gave us. In the field of diplomacy he was a seller not a buyer. He could have abrogated every secret treaty as the price of our assistance; he could have secured water-tight acceptance of the principles of a democratic peace during the war, and at the conference he should have made the execution of these engagements the condition of our guarantee.

What he actually did was to impress Europe with the fact that we wanted nothing. That was true in terms of territory or indemnities. But in terms of world peace we wanted a great deal, namely, the abandonment of claims that can produce another war. American military assistance and the American guarantee would have secured these without question. But when by our neglect to inquire about the secret treaties we gave Europe to understand that we wanted nothing, we got nothing, neither material rewards nor ideal interests. At the same time Europe got everything, secret treaties, military assistance, a typical European peace, and an American guarantee to boot. All we actually asked was the right to give that which Europe would have paid any price to receive. No wonder that British diplomacy, rather acutely aware of what it conceives to be its interests, sided with Japan when Mr. Wilson was irretrievably committed to the League. By that time Mr. Wilson was selling everything to procure the League, and with "single-track mindedness" he allowed himself to be coerced by a typical diplomatic bluff. No one who knows the animus of British policy imagines that Britain would have allowed Mr. Wilson to leave the conference in order to conciliate imperial Japan. The British conciliated Japan because they had taken Mr. Wilson's measure, knew that he was infatuated with the League, and would never play his trump card.

The usual excuse for Mr. Wilson's failure to deal shrewdly and candidly with the whole network of secret treaties which have botched the peace is, first, that public opinion in this country would not during the war have tolerated any move which might threaten to impair Allied unity; second, that the President went to Paris without a public opinion behind him that would have supported adherence to principle; third, that the increasing misery of Europe during the armistice worked for anarchy and made a speedy peace essential.

The answer is that the failure to revise the treaties destroyed a moderate pro-Allied government in Russia and nearly caused a triumph for defeatism in western Europe. This was forestalled only by Mr. Wilson's peace offensives which deceived the Allied workmen with the belief that they were not fighting for annexations. Moreover, between February and April, 1917, America was not yet in the grip of war psychology, and it was in those months that an agreement with our associates could and should have been negotiated. This was suggested at the time from many sources—the New Republic, for example, published a supplement on February 1, 1917, the day the German submarine decree was made public, saying:

> Diplomatic, economic and military conferences between the Allies and all neutrals concerned should be initiated at once, and with all clearness possible the terms and conditions of our entrance into the war should be discussed and announced.

And on February 10th the New Republic said:

> Now while things are still in the balance is the time to negotiate with them not only about actual aid but about political purposes. An agreement by the Allies to abandon the principles of the Paris conference should be considered, so that this war shall not end in a hostile peace. Such an agreement would probably weaken the German extremists more than a dozen army corps.

What had occurred to mere journalists might well have occurred to a President charged with the interests of a whole people. It was an obvious thing to do. It was not done, and we entered the war profoundly ignorant not only of military science on the western front but of Allied diplomacy. Once in, it was harder to deal with the situation, and of course the danger from Germany was so great that whole souled support of the war was necessary no matter what the diplomatic blunders which accompanied it.

But it soon became evident that the very success of the war depended upon unifying and democratizing Allied aims. Only then could the Allied democracies be held together and a wedge driven into Germany. Mr. Wilson in public did gallant work here, but his speeches were unaccompanied by negotiation to consummate them. In the meantime intolerance was whipped to a frenzy so that the effort to support and explain Mr. Wilson's policy

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was signalized by fools and ruffians as pro-German. Mr. Wilson not only countenanced this intolerance, but through his masterpiece, Mr. Burleson, and his other subordinates set up a reign of terror such as free Americans have never known before. This intolerance silenced or weakened every intelligent Wilson man in the country, and gave a monopoly of discussion to those who were bent on destroying Wilsonism. When the election came Mr. Wilson was overwhelmed because the country had never been permitted to hear his side of the case except from his own lips. So of course he went to Paris feeling that the country was not behind him.

Losing his grip on the facts, isolated from his advisers, incapable of delegating authority, three precious months were wasted while Europe went deeper into misery and chaos. The blockade, in many ways tighter in the armistice than it had been during the war, drove Europe further and further along the road to revolution. At last panic seized Mr. Wilson. He had to have a peace, any peace, because the blockade he shared in maintaining was tearing the fabric of Europe to pieces. Frustrated by complexities, overwhelmed by the dangers, Mr. Wilson threw principles to the winds and agreed to accept what his closest advisers know to be a peace that cannot be imposed on Europe.

In Paris he did what he said he would never do, and the imperialists of the world applauded with a jeer. But in the meantime a curious thing was happening at home. The Republican opposition, at first merely anti-Wilson and confused, got gradually into the hands of men who wanted a moral excuse for their partisanship. They found that in Shantung, but behind Shantung lurks the widespread sense, still unexpressed, of the European injustices of the treaty. Shantung, an issue divorced from all taint of pro-Germanism, has become a symbol of the whole failure at Paris. For the first time in many years the Republicans have morality on their side, and Mr. Wilson is compelled to appear as the hard-headed man of expediency. We have no illusions about the Republicans. They would sing a different song if a Republican President had made this treaty. So incidentally would the Democrats. Partisanship is the decisive thing, and a cynic will say that an opposition is generally more idealistic than a party in power. No doubt. But that under republican institutions is the value of an opposition.

To this opposition Mr. Wilson has had to yield the moral leadership, because in the last analysis his diplomacy consisted of speeches and not of leadership. When he failed to square promise with performance, he was bound to be discredited both for his promise and his performance. The one damns the other.

"Regional Understandings"

Persistently there comes from Paris this rumor: That Shantung is but one small pawn in a game the diplomats are playing in the Far East; that behind Shantung there looms a vaster bargain, a Tri-Power agreement between England, France and Japan for control of a great bulk of the continent of Asia.

With the peace-makers themselves lies responsibility for the fact that any serious consideration at all must be given to rumors. The peace was made in a quiet chamber. Rumors leaked, and for months there was nothing better to go on. And rumors, ridiculed at first, often turned out to be the forerunners of truth. Successively we shrugged off the story that Shantung would go to Japan, that France would find a way to the Saar, and that the President would himself propose for America one of those separate and entangling alliances he had so often and so caustically ridiculed. But Japan has Shantung, France a good chance for the Saar Valley, and if Mr. Wilson wins we ourselves shall have the alliance. The history of the Peace Conference brings more than a little justification for the practice of examining rumors attentively.

Briefly the reported Tri-Power agreement marks out these colonies and spheres of influence:

For France: Indo-China and Tonkin, eastern Siam, Yunnan and Kwangsi (the latter two are southern provinces of China). For Great Britain: India, Persia, Arabia, Tibet, Western Siam, Burma, the Szecheuen province (one of the largest provinces in China, with 68 million inhabitants), and the Kwantung region forming the littoral of Canton. For Japan: Eastern Siberia and all of China except the regions "otherwise assigned." Within these several spheres of influence the parties to the entente would agree to respect concessions and investments now existing, and to accord each other reciprocal commercial opportunities.

The almost instinctive feeling that so massive a division of Asiatic power cannot be contemplated by three foreign offices is somewhat offset by a realization that the agreement would not draw new lines so much as shade lines already existing—though they are here and there only faint. Indo-China and Tonkin have long been dependencies of France. Eastern Siam has been a dependency in fact if not name. In Kwangsi and the eastern part of Yunnan France has had a fairly clean sphere of influence. The western half of this latter province, as well as the great province of Szecheuen, have for some time been a battle-ground for both French and British interests. This new agreement would simply settle both halves of the quarrel by giving England somewhat the better of the bargain.

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Few of England's other acquisitions would be novel. India and Burma are, of course, British colonies; Tibet and Western Siam are not far from colonial status; Persia, Arabia and Kwantung are regions which British influence has penetrated. It would be Japan, and not England and France, to whom the Tri-Power agreement would bring territory entirely fresh: those parts of China "not otherwise assigned"; eastern Siberia, with its incredible stores of iron, coal and timber. Concerning Japan's acquisition of commercial supremacy in these two fields we have had rumors from capitals other than Paris. The Chinese press shows fear of a quick expansion of Japanese power in the northern provinces; from Omsk and Vladivostok and Tokio come reports that the Kolchak brand of democracy, based, as it is, on Japanese bayonets more than any other one factor, has paid a high price for the support of its eastern neighbor.

Other reports, then, and half-definite agreements already existing, play in with the rumor of a new Tri-Power agreement. Something else plays in with it, too. And that is Article 21, of the League of Nations Covenant.

Let us recall the circumstances under which Article 21 was drawn. Originally, we remember, the Covenant contained no reservation in respect to the Monroe Doctrine. When that fact became known there was a tumult in the American Senate. "Specific exemption" must be made, said many Republicans, unless essential American privileges were to be squandered. For a time there was silence in Paris. Then came news of a Wilson victory. Mr. Wilson had shown his critics in the Senate that he could in fact secure " specific exemption " of the Monroe Doctrine—establish for the first time its explicit recognition by the powers of Europe.

What was in the minds of the statesmen who met Mr. Wilson's request for "specific exemption?" Mr. Wilson made that request in March. He made it of the men who were later to annul the formal or informal promises our government had given to China, when we urged her to enter the war, that in the settlement we should stand by her claim to a return of Shantung. What were these statesmen thinking? They gave Mr. Wilson his "specific exemption." But it was wrapped in a phrase foreign to American diplomacy, a phrase which had made no previous appearance in peace conference circles, but which now appeared suddenly—the phrase, "regional understandings."

This, we remember, was in March. And it was in March, too, we are told, that the new Tri-Power agreement in Asia was launched. Is there more than a casual relation between these two incidents —one fact, and one rumor?

Only special treatment could validate the supposed Tri-Power agreement, under the League of Nations. That far, at least, the Covenant proposes to go toward a new order of international politics. Under Article 20 the members of the League severally agree that the Covenant abrogates "all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof." Even with the imperfect League we shall possess, the proposals of the Tri-Power agreement could not possibly be considered consistent. They contemplate a commercial sovereignty and an imposition of authority on backward peoples which the League could not admit.

But following the article which rules out agreements inconsistent with the Covenant comes Article 21, making certain exceptions to the general rule: "Nothing in this shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or *regional understandings* like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

Who has defined this phrase? No one. Who will define it, in future? There is a majority in the council of the five great nations—and in this Asiatic entente would be three powers. It is altogether possible that in the minds of shrewd politicians like Pichon and Makino the whole story was clear; that the phrase "regional understandings" was definitely and explicitly coined to cover a contemplated agreement in Asia; that Mr. Wilson served, again, as a serviceable hook on which to hang an imperialist ambition; and that a gigantic bargain hostile to the spirit of even this Covenant might gain standing through the favorable interpretation of a clause we have never had defined. The entente would of course be designed for "the maintenance of peace." That is characteristic of every entente, and of every "defensive alliance."

There is no reason, perhaps, for concern about a situation which is only conjectural? We went into war with the legal assumption that there were no secret treaties, the moral assumption that should any of them possibly exist they would be broken in an hour of calm reason. We do not need to go into peace that way. At least from the war we ought to have learned the price of indifference.

A Tri-Power entente in Asia would fetter the hopes of many subject peoples, cut deeply into the political autonomy and territorial integrity of China. It would wipe away the traditional American policy of the open door, and embroil Asia endlessly in spheres of influence, with an at least tacit guarantee of American support behind a policy America has consistently disowned. Out of all uncertainty there is an easy road: Let the Senate

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request Mr. Wilson to call upon Great Britain, France and Japan for a statement. Let us have definite renunciation of ambitions for a Tri-Power agreement in Asia before we go on with our League of Nations. And let us not go on unless our assurances are explicit and binding.

The Supreme Court and the A. F. of L.

In the flurry caused in the conservative press by the resolution of the American Federation of Labor attacking the judiciary for "usurping" the power to review the constitutionality of acts of Congress, there has been generally overlooked the very significant report upon which that resolution was based. At its annual convention a year ago the Federation directed that a study of the problem should be made, and an adequate measure prepared for presentation to Congress. The report of Jackson H. Ralston, now available in pamphlet form, is the result. It is a document of unusual thoroughness, moderation and sound judgment, and its recommendations are fully worthy of liberal support.

The report points out that the subject must of necessity be divided into two parts: First, the power of courts over acts of coordinate legislative branches, and second, their power over subordinate legislatures. With this distinction in mind, three propositions are set forth:

First: The Supreme Court of the United States and state and national courts generally shall have no power to pass upon the constitutionality of Congressional enactments; and the courts of the respective states shall have no power to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of their respective legislatures, except so far as they are contrary to the national Constitution, or to laws or treaties which are given constitutional recognition.

Second: The Supreme Court shall retain its jurisdiction to declare unconstitutional acts of executive and inferior judicial powers in excess of constitutional authority and like jurisdiction over acts of state legislatures, including acts of commissions; and the state courts shall possess and retain power to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of counties, cities, towns and administrators of whatever nature.

Third: That the Supreme Court of the United States, in the exercise of its jurisdiction to declare an act of the state legislature or of any state or Federal agency including the judiciary, to be unconstitutional, shall only do so by the acquiescence of considerably more than a bare majority of its members; that for instance, three-fourths of the entire membership of the court should concur to such end, and the like requirement shall hold as to the highest courts of the states.

In support of the first of these propositions the report presents three main arguments: That the power of the judiciary to set aside Acts of Congress was not granted by the Constitution, but has been usurped by the courts; that the exercise of the power is in its nature a political rather than a judicial function; and that as a matter of history it has been used, in general, in favor of property rights and against human rights.

To the first of these arguments too much weight should not be attached. Both the historical and the legal arguments are quite evenly balanced. Before the Constitution was adopted, if we look for precedents, there were at least three authenticated cases in which acts of state legislatures had been set aside by state courts; but in one of these cases, the judges were hailed before the legislature to explain their conduct, and refused re-election because of it, and in another the governor of the state denounced the decision as a usurpation and an act of despotism. In the Constitutional Convention, Professor Beard believes that out of twenty-five leaders seventeen favored and eight opposed judicial review; Horace A. Davis counts eleven for and sixteen against. Neither estimate would be conclusive, even if proven accurate, for it is quite possible that an assembly, though by a majority of individuals favoring a measure, should refrain from approving it as a body, for fear of popular opposition. From the language of the Constitution neither side can draw much comfort. Probably the truth of the matter is, that as frequently happens in deliberative bodies, the matter was intentionally left ambiguous. Friends of judicial review were afraid openly to give the Supreme Court power to override Congress, but they used language, doubtless designedly, from which a politically inclined Supreme Court could make a plausible argument in favor of the power. The matter has now only an antiquarian interest. In fact, the Supreme Court exercised the power, and what is more important, Congress and the President and the voters acquiesced in the exercise.

In his second argument Mr. Ralston is on firmer ground. There can be no doubt that in a large number of the important decisions involving the constitutionality of legislation the Supreme Court has passed on questions of policy rather than of law. Is a man deprived of property without due process of law if he is forbidden to discharge an employee because the employee is a member of a trade union? Or if he is forbidden to employ men in a bake shop for more than ten hours a day? Or

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if he is forbidden to operate an employment agency for profit? The Supreme Court has said that such laws are constitutional if they are "in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by . . . preponderant opinion to be . . . necessary to the public welfare." Cannot Congress judge better than the Supreme Court what laws are held by preponderant opinion to be necessary to the public welfare? It is true that from the nature of its functions a court must often pass on political and social questions, as, for instance, when it decides whether the steel trust is in restraint of trade, or whether a labor boycott is illegal. But these are cases in which Congress has left the question of policy open. When the Supreme Court in the Adair case overthrew an act of Congress making it unlawful for an interstate railroad to discharge an employee because he was a member of a union, it was in effect saying that it knew better than the Congress and the Supreme Court what a preponderant public opinion held to be necessary for the public welfare.

The strongest argument against the Supreme Court's power to review Congressional legislation is that in fact the decisions involving questions of political or social importance have generally been reactionary. The Dred Scott case, the income tax decision, the Employers' Liability case, the Adair case, the child labor law decision, all went in favor of the property owner and against the laborer. On the other hand in the Robertson case, sustaining the arrest of seamen for desertion despite the Thirteenth Amendment, in the Pettibone case, holding that the kidnapping of a labor union official by a state governor was not a violation of due process, in the Killits case, holding that a man could be punished for criminal contempt for publishing a newspaper attack on a judge based on a case then under consideration, and Mr. Ralston might have added, in the Frank case, the court refused to interpret the Constitution to protect individual rights.

Of course there are exceptions, such as the Southern peonage cases, and there have been many decisions, relatively unimportant, which may be described as politically neutral. But as a generalization it can be safely said that in its net result the Supreme Court's power over federal legislation has been reactionary.

When we come to the Supreme Court's power over state legislation, entirely different considerations apply, as the Federation report justly points out. There the Supreme Court is the guardian of national interests, as against the local and special interests so often dominant in state legislatures. It was the Supreme Court which resisted the attempts of state legislatures to set up local commercial and transportation monopolies, and laws interfering with the free intercourse of persons and property among the states. It is true that the court's power under the Fourteenth Amendment has been abused, quite as often as its power under the Fifth, but even the Fourteenth Amendment, notably in taxation cases, has been used to vindicate national against merely local interests. Mr. Ralston's conclusion is that the good and the bad in the Supreme Court's power over state legislation is so inextricably interwoven that they cannot be separated. Instead of taking away the power, he suggests that more than a bare majority, say three-fourths of the judges, must agree before a state law can be overthrown. In support of this recommendation he points to a similar provision in the Ohio constitution, and to the legal principle long acknowledged by the Supreme Court, that a law should not be held unconstitutional unless it is so clearly bad that no reasonable man can consider it constitutional. Such an amendment would prevent the oft recurring scandal of five members of the Supreme Court solemnly adjudging that the other four hold opinions which no reasonable man can entertain.

In adopting this report, the American Federation of Labor has put its weight behind a fundamental and urgent reform. If European legislation affords any precedent, the coming decades will require more than ever drastic interferences with vested property rights. And if recent decisions of the Supreme Court are an indication of its temper for the future, such laws will make slow headway as long as that court has the final word as to the compatibility of legislation with the public welfare. Even conservatives will admit that it is better to act moderately and sanely today than to wait until popular resentment over such decisions as the child labor case lead to more drastic and subversive measures.

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EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY — FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL — ALVIN JOHNSON
WALTER E. WEYL — WALTER LIPPMANN
CHARLES MERZ
SIGNE TOKSVIG, Assistant Editor

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Anti-Bolsheviks: The Twenty Million

ON May 17th last the great new anti-Bolshevik political paper party began its march across the American mind, 20,000,000 strong. Its advance-guard was landed on May 17th in the Russian Embassy's magazine, published by the Russian Information Bureau, managed by Mr. Sack—the magazine called Struggling Russia. The gentlemen of the advance-guard were strikingly attired. They had on their own clothes and also the clothes of previous parties—real parties.

Mr. Sack was, and is, very anxious to prove that the Socialist parties of Siberia are supporting Kolchak. Almost all Russians, as shown by the great election to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in 1917, are voters for Socialist candidates of one color or another. It is necessary to prove that Kolchak has a strong Socialist following. In Struggling Russia, on May 17th, Mr. Sack announced that a " declaration " in favor of Kolchak had been made by " the Socialist groups " of Omsk.

But who signed this Omsk declaration? Seven men. Mr. Sack gives their names. Two of them sign without in any way mentioning what they represent. One of them signs as a member of " The All-Russian Union of Writers." The remaining four affix their signatures as representatives of various institutions belonging to the great — the genuinely great — Russian Cooperative Movement.

Now the Cooperative Movement was established for the purpose of promoting the interests of its members in the buying of goods, and in the selling of goods, through the method of cooperation. People join the Cooperative Movement as consumers; or they join it as producers. They do not join it as Republicans or Democrats or Prohibitionists or Bolsheviks or Mensheviks or Socialists-Revolutionists of the Right or Socialists-Revolutionists of the Left. Therefore the up-rolling of Cooperators at Omsk as " Socialist groups " was a quite considerable event.

In the very next issue of Struggling Russia—the issue of May 31st—the Cooperators were landed in force—the whole 20,000,000 of them—and simply and boldly as Cooperators. They ceased to speak as "Socialist groups." They spoke as the Russian Cooperative Movement. And they announced themselves unanimously for Kolchak. They did this by means of a manifesto signed by five representatives of Russian cooperative organizations in New York, presumably on instructions from their chiefs in Russia.

It is a firm manifesto in a firm historic tone. It calls on the American people to " side with us " and says that "the United Cooperatives recognize and support the Provisional Government formed on Siberian territory and headed by Admiral Kolchak."

Naturally Mr. Sack was pleased. The vote for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in 1917 was only 36,000,000. Here was a vote of 20,000,000 —a clear majority for Kolchak—in one sudden solid lump.

Already, on May 26th, in spacious newspaper advertising, Mr. Sack had hastened to introduce his new party to the American public, as follows:

> THE COOPERATIVES SPEAK. The Russian Cooperative unions have at this moment a membership of over 20,000,000 and represent the strongest economic organization in Russia, reaching every little town and village. They are entitled to speak for the Russian people. The representatives of the Russian Cooperative Organizations in this country have issued an appeal to the American people and to the Congress of the United States.
>
> Etc.

So the 20,000,000 Cooperators of Russia, propped by Mr. Sack, stood up in mass in the American newspapers beckoning as one man for instant help to Kolchak.

We must review that army of 20,000,000.

To begin with, there exists in Russia an organization called the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies. It happens to have a representative in New York. Five different Russian cooperative organizations maintain offices together in New York at 136 Liberty Street. The All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies is one of them. It is represented by Mr. Berkenheim. Mr. Berkenheim has been five times imprisoned by the Bolsheviks. Once he was condemned to death by them. A sentence of death, even if unexecuted, is some slight proof that the man concerned has been engaged in some dispute with the government in question. Mr. Berkenheim is an anti-Bolshevik.

But Mr. Berkenheim did not sign the Cooperative pro-Kolchak manifesto and appeal. He did not sign the request to us to help Kolchak fight and starve Soviet Russia. On the contrary, he publicly said that he was not signing it; and, further, he publicly said that he was asking the American people to trade with Soviet Russia and to permit his organization to buy supplies in America for shipment to Soviet Russia, where " hunger is killing and degenerating the non-Bolshevist majority " of the population.

That is what Mr. Berkenheim thinks. Nobody

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else had any right to sign for his organization. Nobody did sign for his organization. His organization did not appear in the manifesto. Therefore it must be subtracted from the army of 20,000,000 Cooperators delivered to Kolchak in that document. But how many people must be thus subtracted? More than half the army. Mr. Berkenheim's organization has a membership of 12,000,000. It is a fairly serious loss, and it existed in New York on the day when Mr. Sack's advertisement was printed.

Again, in New York, at 136 Liberty Street, there is a cooperative organization called the Moscow Narodny Bank. This bank is the great central financial agent of the Russian Cooperation. It deals in money and it also deals in goods. Its annual turnover amounts to 5,800,000,000 rubles. It has 30 branches. It occupies a very extensive, as well as a strategic, position in the Russian Cooperative movement. Its representative here is Mr. Isaac J. Sherman.

Mr. Sherman did not sign the pro-Kolchak manifesto. Instead, he publicly repudiated it. He said that "we are opposed to the Bolsheviki because they constantly interfere with our activities," just as "we are opposed to any government which tries to interfere with our activities," but this opposition does not include "mixing into party politics." He said:

> The Russian Cooperation is a purely economic organization of consumers and producers, without any political affiliations whatsoever. Nobody entering a cooperative organization has ever been asked as to his political creed. To ascertain the political views of the cooperative membership it would be necessary to call a referendum. This has not been done. I do not see how I could, in the name of our Bank or of its constituents, express any political opinions without making myself guilty of an act of gross impropriety.

So Mr. Sherman's name was not in the list of signers.

Whose names were? And what do the signers of those names represent?

One name is signed on behalf of the Cooperative Union in the Archangel district. But the whole Archangel district has a population, Cooperators and non-Cooperators together, of only a few hundred thousand. We may leave Archangel out without suffering any noticeable numerical loss. The remaining four names are signed on behalf of four certain cooperative organizations in Siberia—only and simply in Siberia.

But how many Cooperators are there in Siberia? Not more than 5,000,000, at a generous estimate.

Mr. Sack's army is now sadly diminished. In its advertising it is 20,000,000. When brought out for review, it loses 15,000,000. These casualties shrink it to one-fourth of its proclaimed size. And then it gets shrunk some more if it is reviewed in detail on Siberian soil.

Before reviewing it there, however, we might note a few points in Kolchak's policy toward Siberian Cooperators.

Mr. Gregory Zilboorg in the Nation has quoted a certain announcement which appeared in the non-Bolshevik paper Daliokaya Okraina of Vladivostok on February 2nd. It said:

> The Bureau of Organizations of the City Cooperative Societies announces that the Minister of the Interior does not find it possible to permit the convocation of this conference in view of the indefiniteness of the programme and the composition of the conference.

Again:

In London, England, there is a paper called the Russian Cooperator, edited by official representatives of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the Moscow Narodny Bank, the Central Association of Flax Growers and the Union of Siberian Cooperative Unions called Zakoopsbyt. In April this paper reported a general meeting of delegates of Zakoopsbyt in Siberia at Novo Nikolaievsk. A certain subject was to be there discussed. It was: "Relations Between Cooperation and The State." But it was not discussed. The official minutes of the meeting say: "This discussion, to the surprise of the delegates, and for reasons beyond the control of the Board and of the Chairman could not take place." The editor of the Russian Cooperator adds in comment: "For those persons unacquainted with the niceties of the Russian language we may explain that 'reasons beyond the control, etc.,' means, in plain English, the authorities —that is, the government of Admiral Kolchak."

In May the Russian Cooperator printed a black-bordered page in which it narrated the execution, by Kolchak's officers, of the distinguished Cooperators W. Maisky and Nil Valerianovitch Fomin. Maisky was a Menshevik—an anti-Bolshevik. He had been a Minister in the anti-Bolshevik government at Samara. With Fomin he was shot at Omsk on the morning of December 24, 1918. He was carried away from his prison in a motor-car by Kolchak's officers and shot in secret. On the morning of December 26th the Board of Directors of Zakoopsbyt received the message: "The body of Nil Valerianovitch has been found." It ordered a month's mourning for him in all its offices and agencies and it issued a statement to express "the feelings of despair, horror and mortal anguish which seized upon us on the receipt of the news of the violent death of our comrade Nil Valerianovitch Fomin, one of the pioneers of Siberian Cooperation, one of the leaders of the regeneration of

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Siberia and Russia, who with a few others raised in Siberia the standard of revolt against the Soviets."

It would appear that Kolchak's ministers and officers do not hesitate to suppress the meetings and to censor the debates and to murder the leaders of various Siberian cooperative organizations. For being pro-Kolchak? Or to encourage the others to be pro-Kolchak?

With that situation in mind, we may proceed to examine our 5,000,000 pro-Kolchak Siberian Cooperators. They fall into four divisions. That is, they were delivered to Kolchak, in the New York manifesto, by four signers.

One of these signers is Mr. Bashkirov, acting for the Union of Siberian Creamery Associations. He relies on expressions of pro-Kolchak opinion by delegates and officials of his union. It is an unusual reliance. Cooperative delegates, all over the world, are elected to decide cooperative economic problems. Cooperative officials, all over the world, are elected to handle the daily cooperative economic problems of buying and selling. Delegates and officials both are chosen for business purposes, not for political purposes. Mr. Bashkirov, in signing, did not allege any mandate from the rank-and-file members of his union through a referendum. However, he signed; and his organization is a large and important one. It has perhaps 1,500,000 members.

Another signer of the pro-Kolchak New York Cooperative manifesto is Mr. Kovalsky, on behalf of the Council of the All-Siberian Cooperative Congresses. But what is this Council? It is a committee sitting in between the sessions of Cooperative Congresses. Imagine that the Republican party of the United States was engaged not in running candidates for office but in buying and selling groceries and clothes and other useful articles, and then imagine that the National Committee of the Republican Party—elected by a National Convention long since adjourned—should issue a statement by which it was made to appear that the Republican system of chain-stores and of garment factories was all for Senator Harding for President! That is the sort of game the Council of All-Siberian Cooperative Congresses is playing. It does not entirely convince Siberia.

In the May 15th issue of the official organ of the Union of Siberian Cooperative Unions, Zakoopsbyt, we learn that "the political activities of the Council of the All-Siberian Cooperative Congresses continue to arouse a negative response from cooperative organizations in Siberia." The secretariat of the Altai Cooperative Unions, for instance, has passed a formal resolution repudiating the political activities of the Council; and the Semipalatinsk Regional Union of Cooperative Societies has publicly announced that the political activities of the Council are contrary to the elementary principles of democracy and do not express the opinions of the cooperative masses.

The fact is that the Council of all Siberian Cooperative Congresses has no political mandate whatsoever from the Siberian Cooperative movement. Nevertheless, though without a mandate, and though utterly unable to bind the policies of its constituent organizations, it does indeed adventure itself irresponsibly into politics; and Mr. Kovalsky faithfully signs for it in New York.

The third signer is Mr. Zolotookhin. He signs for the Cooperative Union of the Trans-Baikal Unions. But this organization is a local organization forming part of the larger complete organization, Zakoopsbyt.

We arrive at Zakoopsbyt—the Siberian Union of Cooperative Unions called Zakoopsbyt—meaning Purchase-Sale. The name shows its function.

The fourth signer of the pro-Kolchak manifesto in New York is the New York salaried representative—the New York selling agent and buying agent—of Zakoopsbyt, Mr. Trutnev. Now observe!

Mr. Trutnev, an employee of Zakoopsbyt, signs in New York. But his Board of Directors, sitting at Omsk, in April of this year, defies Kolchak by passing a resolution of absolute independence from politics in words like these:

> Political work in all forms, on behalf of one sort of state organization or on behalf of another sort of state organization, on behalf of one political idea or on behalf of another political idea, must be the affair of political parties or groups or blocs; and cooperators who are politically interested can express themselves as political workers only through such political organizations. Any attempt to use the cooperative economic machinery for the narrow purposes of any political group, or in general for any political purpose, is inadmissible. The Board of Directors of the Siberian Union of Cooperative Unions Zakoopsbyt declares that it has never participated in any political bloc up to the present time and that it does not consider it possible to do so in the future.

Could any words be plainer? Could any words, at Omsk, be bolder? Is it not clear that behind those words there lies a feeling intense and determined?

In any case the Board of Directors of Zakoopsbyt spoke those words, and no report so far says that it has taken them back. And how many members has Zakoopsbyt? Zakoopsbyt has 3,000,000 members.

Mr. Sack's party, built on official signatures, is then in the following condition:

It starts with 20,000,000 members. It asserts 20,000,000 members vociferously to the American

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newspaper reading public. It gets 20,000,000 members not only into advertisements but into amazed and highly interested sincere pure reading matter. But, not having any official signatures for 15,000,000 of its members, it drops to 5,000,000, in fact. And then, losing the 3,000,000 members of Zakoopsbyt by an official declaration which was already in existence when the New York pro-Kolchak manifesto was issued, it sinks to 2,000,000. And, finally, with regard to that 2,000,000, Mr. Sherman's essential point remains:

> Nobody entering a cooperative organization has ever been asked as to his political creed. To ascertain the political views of the cooperative membership it would be necessary to call a referendum. This has not been done.

We have seen many things in Russia. We have seen up-rollers who do not roll up. We have seen great, new democratic Russian governments which turn out to be managed either by old Tsaristic courtiers and Cossacks or by non-Russian allied foreign martial-law generals. We have seen many things. But this impromptu party of 20,000,000 cooperative chain-store Russians rising in all their villages from Vladivostok to Smolensk and from Archangel to Tiflis and crying for Kolchak is surely the greatest political optical illusion ever flashed on the American screen from the Russian lantern.

Its purpose was to get money out of the American treasury and men out of American factories and farms, into the Russian Civil War in Siberia and the Urals. Its method was to show us 20,000,000 invitations to come into that war, when in fact only one-tenth of those invitations have any even slightest body of reality and when nine-tenths are pure phantoms.

Can it be thought that such propaganda is within the legitimate privileges of an embassy? Would our government be going too far if it told the Russian Embassy that it must either completely withdraw from all such propaganda or else completely withdraw from the United States?

WILLIAM HARD.

The New Ballet

WHEN the Russians arrived in London last autumn to give us one turn a night at the Colosseum, we welcomed them with joy but without wild excitement. We did not know that they were bringing us, in M. Massine, a creative artist of the first order. Neither did we know that Madame Lopokova was going to develop into the finest danseuse that this generation has seen. Least of all did we guess—how should we have guessed?—that M. Diaghileff had with him a finished sample of that new art of which during the last dozen years we had heard so much and seen so little.

The full significance of what has happened is only just dawning on us. So long as the ballet remained at the Colosseum it was always rather like a china shop with a bull at the door. Then, when it had a theatre to itself, the first thing that struck one was that Madame Lopokova was not only a genuine artist but a brilliant executant and that M. Idzikovsky, though perhaps not an artist at all, was becoming a dancer of uncommon power and precision. Not until Madame Karsavina joined the cast, at the beginning of June, did the thing become obvious.

We all remembered how Madame Karsavina danced in 1914: she had seemed to us miraculous almost. And if we remembered her better in one ballet than another that ballet was Petroushka. And now, in 1919, the first night that we saw her in her great role, there could be no doubt about it—she was disappointing. Compared with Madame Lopokova she was not only inferior as a virtuoso—a dancer who has been off the stage for some years is bound to become a little rusty in her technique—she was playing a different game and a poorer one. Assuredly, she was as charming as ever and as sympathetic: her accomplishment was only a little less marvelous: but was she quite an artist? Yes; Madame Karsavina is an artist. But a pure artist? Well, perhaps she is an actress.

The distinction that I should like to draw between an actress and a pure artist would be suitably indicated, I think, by always referring to the former as an artiste. Madame Karsavina communicates her gracious and attractive personality direct to the audience. She tends to leave out that artistic problem about which I have lately said so much that I am ashamed to say more. When not preoccupied with purely technical subtleties, she is apt to express herself, not through the work of art she is interpreting, but immediately, as in conversation. There is complicity between her and the audience. Madame Karsavina may remind you of La Signora Duse—for my part I greatly prefer her delicate gift to that famous temperament of which the Italian lady is something over lavish—but she will never remind you of a first-rate painter, poet, or composer, of a real artist in fact.

Madame Lopokova is different. Because she is younger, stronger and in better training she is a more dazzling virtuoso: but that is not what I am thinking of. I said that Madame Karsavina was an actress: Madame Lopokova, I know, has been called "the greatest comedienne of the age"; what is more, her deliciously gay temperament is reckoned one of her main instruments. So it is; and the same might be said of Mozart or Fra Angelico. The point is that neither Mozart, nor Fra Angelico,

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drafted men, and the latter consisted of volunteers who enlisted for service in the war against Germany. Even the officers were mostly from the reserves.

It seemed clear to them that none of the objects enumerated above justified keeping them on the battle line in Russia after their comrades on the western front and in Italy had brought our only enemies to their knees. And at least those with whom I talked feel that their hardships and privations were uncalled for and that the dead, numbering over two hundred, died without even the faith that they were sacrificing themselves for some noble, worthwhile cause. One such spoke for them when just before he died, he pleaded for some one to tell him for what cause he died, to give him the comfort of knowing that he was not dying in vain.

To be entirely truthful I must add that the returned Americans do have at least a suspicion of a reason for their having been kept in Russia, and it is not held only by the men in the ranks. In fact one officer says openly that he bases his belief on what he heard English officers say. It is that the expedition was planned and carried out for the purpose of advancing French and English commercial interests. The men are influenced perhaps mostly by what Russians in Archangel said to them, for these, though opposed to the Bolshevists, suspect the motives of the British and say "Russia for the Russians"; but the men add that English names over Russian saw-mills speak for themselves without further explanation being necessary.

I suppose I ought to add a few words regarding the impressions of the Americans regarding the Bolshevists. They agree that in the beginning the Bolshevists would not fight at all, but that later they marched openly into the hottest machine gun fire and by force of numbers frequently carried the day. They believe however that the Bolshevists faced the machine guns in front because there were others behind that were turned against them if they returned without accomplishing the object for which they were sent forward. Our men cite the evidence of the prisoners in this connection; and an officer cites as typical the case of a sixteen year old boy who had been wounded and died from the exposure to which he was subjected before our men came to his relief. He said he had been torn from his home and compelled to serve in the Bolshevist army; and with his last breath he cursed the Bolshevists for ruining his home and for taking his life.

Is it not possible that on both sides those who died have given their lives unwillingly, blindly and in vain?

HARRY J. HIBSCHMAN.

Of Seditions and Troubles

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in State; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia. . . .

Libels and licentious discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. . . . Neither doth it follow that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.. .. .. .*

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light might be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered: for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty, and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

Hinc usura vorax rapidumque in tempore foenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.

This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humors in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust (for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good), nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise to

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be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, timendi non item.* Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued. For as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last. And, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of seditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak; as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufacturers; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars), do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number. For a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live low and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a State to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off. . . .

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasures and monies in a State be not gathered into a few hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great stock, and yet starve; and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a strait hand upon, the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like. . . .

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way. For he that turneth the humors back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least, to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereupon discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented part, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast, and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united. . . .

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For, without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of trouble than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith—*Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But let such military persons be assured and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the State; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

FRANCIS BACON OF VERULAM.

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CORRESPONDENCE

In Re Article X

SIR: In supporting Mr. Root's proposal for reservations on Article X of the League of Nations Covenant, you asserted on page 270 of the issue of July 2nd, that those who, with Lord Robert Cecil, assert that "Article X merely insists that the status quo can be revised only by peaceful means," "have not explained why it was inserted as a special article when there are specific safeguards in other parts of the covenants." Where are these specific safeguards? Article XII merely requires that the Powers refrain from war until a period not greater than nine months is given for peaceful settlement. Article XIII provides that awards in arbitration be carried out in good faith but both parties must agree that the dispute is suitable for arbitration. Article XV requires abstention from war against a state which complies with a recommendation of the Council or Assembly in other disputes provided the report is unanimous with the exception of the parties to the dispute or if it goes to the Assembly that it has the concurrence of the members of the League represented on the Council and a majority of the other members of the League. Article XVII applies these articles to disputes involving states not members of the League.

A state desiring to seize territory would never agree to arbitrate. Only rarely would a unanimous report be given against it in the Council or the required number against it in the Assembly. Practically these articles only enforce a delay of nine months at the most before war and conquest become permissible. Article X denies the validity of title by conquest at any time. It applies to the world the proposal of Mr. Blaine at the Pan-American Conference of 1890, agreed to by the Conference unanimously, Chili abstaining from voting, "That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law." (Moore's Digest, vol. 1, p. 292.) Veiled conquest as by a protectorate is also forbidden by the guarantee of existing political independence, against external aggression.

It is worth noting that by recognized principles of law a restrictive clause such as this must be strictly interpreted. Marshall's broad interpretation of the Constitution was based on the permissive clauses, those defining the powers of Congress. The very limited application which the courts of the United States have given to Article IV, section 4 of the Constitution, which closely resembles Article X of the Covenant is reassuring on this point.

QUINCY WRIGHT.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Vive les Poilus

SIR: I am grateful to the New Republic for having given space, in recent issues, to letters from A. E. F. men explaining, or honestly attempting to explain, the feelings of contempt and bitterness that so many a returning "doughboy" professes to entertain for France and the French people. To one who served for nineteen months in the French army, and who lived the intimate and character-proving life of the front with the "poilu", all this loose criticism and vulgar abuse is heart-breaking from the standpoint of personal sentiment, and shakes one's belief and hope that the ever closer contact between peoples, which characterizes this modern age, will speedily promote a more genuine friendliness of nation for nation. Of course, this woeful lack of comprehension and appreciation is the natural product of too superficial an intercourse—of an association that seems worse than none at all, as it so obviously results in the fatal contact of the rough edges of two dissimilar social systems and in the unjust exaggeration in the mind of one nationality of the unlovely traits of the other.

The fact that the average Frenchman is such a likeable chap to one who knows him well intensifies, in the light of the present ill-feeling, the sense of hopelessness, which invades one in one's pessimistic moments, that the peoples of the world will ever reach the point of thoroughly understanding one another. It would seem that centuries must elapse before intercourse will be sufficiently intimate to bring about a reciprocal understanding and sympathy. One feels that one has perhaps the right to give way to black despair when the coming into contact of two such tolerant, generous and sociable creatures as the Frenchman and the American fails to inspire mutual respect and confidence.

Generalizing aside, I think that it is safe to state that there is not one American who served as a volunteer in the French army but that has a deep affection and intense admiration for France and for the Frenchmen with whom he endured and bled. I have known many such and I have yet to meet one who left France with any trace of the feeling of bitterness and distrust that is so general among the Americans of the A. E. F. Should not these men, who lived the life of a "poilu" among the real "poilus" of the fighting regiments of France, be heard, and should not their opinions inspire confidence? They discovered that the "damned frogs" were courageous men of keen thought and vigorous action; that, best of all, the iron of their soldier nature was tempered by an irrepressible and delightful sense of humor, by a deep human sympathy ever ready for expression, and by an instinctive generosity and loyalty that never hesitated before the sacrifice of life itself for the sake of comrades in need.

AN AMERICAN "POILU".

Granville, Ohio.

The Four Hundred

SIR: Many thanks for publishing my letter offering to furnish your readers free, if four cents to cover postage was inclosed, copies of The New Day in North Dakota, containing 30 of the principal laws passed by the North Dakota legislature carrying out the programme of the organized farmers.

I can testify that you have a circle of readers intensely interested in political and economic subjects. Nearly 400 of them to date have sent postage for the booklet, and their letters are coming in still by the dozen on every train, from all parts of the United States and Canada.

There are still a few of the booklets left. They contain the actual text of the laws passed and nothing else. The pamphlet is not propaganda or argument, but simply facts for the information of the public, published by the state of North Dakota. I will continue to send the booklets to your readers who send four cents, as long as they last.

Thank you again and congratulations on having such a live audience.

OLIVER S. MORRIS, Secretary,
Industrial Commission of North Dakota.
Bismarck, North Dakota.

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Books and Things

OF the seven stories in Travelling Companions, by Henry James, now published for the first time by Messrs. Boni & Liveright, three came out in the Atlantic, three in the Galaxy, one in Scribner's. The earliest appeared in July, 1868, and the latest in August, 1874. Mr. Albert Mordell, who gives these facts in his preface, tells us in addition that in 1875, when collecting the half dozen things which make up A Passionate Pilgrim, Henry James "overlooked stories which were at least equal to, and in some cases superior to, those he then brought together." Really? Is Mr. Mordell quite certain? Henry James was a careful youth, not likely at any time, and when actually choosing stories for a volume particularly unlikely, to "overlook" any of his possible material.

However, Mr. Mordell only says this: he doesn't altogether mean it, for in his next paragraph he goes on thus: "James was a particularly erring critic when it came to his own writings. This fact is attested to by his rewriting and ruining some of his best early stories."

The sentences I've just quoted throw an odd light upon the workings of Mr. Mondell's mind, or upon its reluctance to work. Late in life, when at the top of his later form, Henry James did rewrite and did ruin some of his early stories. True. But in what way does this prove him to have been a poor picker and chooser of these early stories in 1875, soon after he had written them? In no way, so far as I can see. The more conventional opinion is in this case the right one, namely, that "when it came to his own writings," quite as much as when it didn't, Henry James's preferences were the reverse of "erring," that he did well to prefer his later things to his earlier, that he "rewrote and ruined" some of his earlier stories just because he totally and strangely failed to comprehend how deep the source of their inferiority lay. By years of looking with a more patient patience, of seeing with a finer fineness, of rendering with more and more expressive abundance, and also, unhappily, by changing from writing with his hand to dictating, he achieved the texture of his high period, of The Awkward Age and the Wings of the Dove. His effort to go back and give something like this texture to stories written when he was a less subtle perceiver of rooms and buildings, landscape and pictures, and when he was an immeasurably less subtle imaginer of shades in human relations, was an astounding mistake for such a self-conscious artist. But he makes a mistake quite as astounding, really the same mistake, here and there in his later and greatest time. He makes it as often as he turns, without change in the apparatus of expression, from rendering things imperceptible save by Henry James's subtlety of vision and feeling to rendering things which all of us may feel and see for ourselves. His rewriting of his early stories proves that he did lamentably come to think words able to do the work of perceptions. Certain pages in his later books prove the same thing.

It is partly Mr. Mordell's fault that I'm repeating all this at this moment. His preface to Travelling Companions is so tactless. He begins it with a sentence which sounds like an invitation to buyers of this interesting book to be few. "To those," he says, "who associate the name of Henry James with all that is tedious and involved in the art of fiction, the tales in this volume, now collected for the first time, will appear as revelations of simplicity in style." Show me these "those." Trot them out and let me count them.

Travelling Companions deserves more than the few readers who are still under the impression that Henry James conceived his earliest stories in the manner of his latest. It deserves more readers than the few who will agree with Mr. Mordell that "the tales in this volume are not apprentice work" and that "they show the hand of the master." It deserves to be read by all who love Henry James, and who like to see how the master looked while he was still an apprentice. Here we have an unsophisticated writer at the outset of his long journey to sophistication. He is not yet a master of appearances, but he is already a wistful and competent describer of landscape and old cities. He is terribly at ease in studio and gallery, speaking of Correggio and of Giotto, for example, with a flat-footed confidence engagingly unlike his later penetrating guardedness. Young and somewhat "cultured," gravely intent on making the most of a conscientious traveller's opportunities, eager for Italy and charming in his eagerness, eager to write stories before his imagination has learned to put pressure on human relations, more and more pressure till they yield him their essences—here he has a young awkwardness and a young grace that go when youth goes, a young cleverness that he afterwards nursed into an exploring subtlety.

De Grey, the earliest of the seven stories, is pleasant like a fashion-plate many years old, all faded colors and quaint inabilities to draw the human figure, and such an odd fashion-plate! in which the figures are so placed as to tell the artless story of a fatal and hereditary curse. Sometimes, as in the latest-dated tale, Professor Fargo, the figures have bones and flesh on their bones, and the author, by taking pains, does kindle a tiny fire of human relations between them, which burns faintly in a still air. In At Isella we take a walk, very long and beautiful, past crags and through defiles, to the top of the Simplon, whence "we slope to Italy at last, by green degrees," and happen upon the story of a love supposed by the narrator, one guesses, to be peculiarly Italian. There is more Italy and a different way of love in the title-story, Travelling Companions, the love being very mild, complete with a duly compromised heroine; and the Italy, seen through a young ingenuous temperament, singularly agreeable. Were the volume a new book by an unknown writer I should be blind enough to say, I am afraid, that only one of its seven stories gave promise of great things. In six of the seven either the proportioning is wrong or the grasp feeble, but in Adina Henry James is already an artist, already a man who knows that love is a mystery, already able to make us believe in the unaccountable.

Travelling Companions has also given me an adventitious pleasure, not aesthetic at all, but most "illegitimate" and "unworthy." All the stories but one are told in the first person, and I've found myself involuntarily identifying Henry James with most of the narrators. Thus I have had an unexpected glimpse of him as a commercial traveller, "leading an ambulant life, and travelling from town to town in a cause which demanded a good deal of ready-made eloquence." I have watched him offer Colonel Gifford "a good cigar," and make his way, upon a Sunday afternoon too, into an American bar-room. I have trailed him to an empty church, where he stood and listened to the solitary organist, a young woman, and then suddenly, and very much to my surprise, burst into sympathetic song. How different do you suppose his later novels would have been if he had really done these things in his youth?

P. L.

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Things As They Are

Democracy at the Crossways, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw. New York: The Macmillan Co.

PROFESSOR HEARNSHAW seems to have written this book in a genuine perspiration of belligerent excitement, with the result that it is likely rather to comfort his enemies than to gratify his friends. Broadly speaking, it is a defence of the classical conception of representative democracy, with a warning to purveyors of novelties that they are not wanted. The only adequate type of democratic government is, so he urges, that which is founded upon the two-party system; and proportional representation is regarded as impossible because it hinders the operation of majority-rule. Public opinion needs a diligent education, and the time has come when statesmanship consists in telling the democracy its faults and in refusing to allow invasion of general rights by powerful minorities like the trade-unions. Democracy, in fact, must be made safe for the world; and the only fashion in which this can be accomplished is by denying the implications of the last generation. That we have a new world, to which a new political philosophy is essential, Professor Hearnshaw is able to deny by the genial method of refusing to admit that our recent experience is at any point other than a perversion of the ideal.

Some excuse is doubtless to be made for a non-combatant professor writing in the terrible days of March, 1918. This it is, one takes it, which makes Mr. Cole "hare-brained and academic" (p. 223), Mr. Figgis the 'leader of a rebellion in the church' (p. 307), and Karl Marx the mere purveyor of a Ricardian half-truth which was a 'monstrous myth.' Men like Philip Snowden and Ramsay Macdonald do not understand the mind of labor, Arthur Henderson only partially so; the true sentiment of labor Mr. Hearnshaw discovers in the fiery patriotism of that British Empire Worker which, if it were honest, would admit that its real attitude to the state is precisely that of Herr Schiedemann before the collapse of the last German offensive. He passionately resents, of course, the conscientious objectors. The famous strike of the South Wales Miners is, for him, merely 'humiliating and disgraceful' (p. 285); and the attitude to it of government was a 'greatest and most fatal betrayal and surrender.' For men in a basic industry to go on strike is nothing less than lèse démocratie. Man is essentially a member of the herd and by its rules he must abide. Fundamentally, that is to say, he must accept the dictates of government, or else turn it out by argument. The straight path, in short, is the path indicated by John Stuart Mill some sixty years ago. The criticisms of the last half-century have only, so Mr. Hearnshaw impliedly affirms, demonstrated the truth of these conclusions.

No one will deny that many of the criticisms upon democratic government which Professor Hearnshaw passes in review are justified by experience. But what he seems unable to perceive is the fact that the attitude of thinkers like Mr. Russell and Mr. Cole is an effort to avoid the inevitability of those criticisms. There is not a single positive contribution to the debate in all these five hundred pages except the plea for wider education. Professor Hearnshaw makes much of loyalty to the state; but he does not explain what are the impulses to loyalty which should infuse a half-starved worker in the miserable sweat-shops of East London. He is contemptuous of the bureaucratic tyranny implied in the socialism of Mr. Sidney Webb; but, for the majority of men, that is in no sense more tyrannical than the régime under which they live. He dismisses the individualistic anarchy of Proudhon; but he does not realize not merely that Proudhon had the secret of liberty more deeply in his heart than any thinker of the nineteenth century except Lord Acton, but also that his analysis of the possibilities of federalism is one of the profoundest pieces of political reasoning in the modern time. He thinks that Marx did nothing more than evolve from Ricardo a half-baked doctrine of hate; yet the economic interpretation of history, of which Marx is the fundamental sponsor, has been the most suggestive hypothesis since the work of Darwin. He makes merry over Mr. Cole's delicate system of checks and balances; but he does not seem to know that men like Locke and Montesquieu, Hamilton and Madison, have found in its antithesis the real essence of tyranny. He is anxious for the pure milk of nationalism in government; yet it was Mr. Gladstone himself—assuredly no radical—who told the House of Commons that if the people had "eschewed violence and preserved order, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained." He regards the state as the expression of the general will of the community; but he never approaches near enough to the facts to realize that, for the most part, the will of the state is the will of government, and that the latter, as Burke and the two Mills never ceased to point out, is consistently liable to dangerous perversion.

The truth is that Professor Hearnshaw has been obsessed by the war, and he has been so convinced of its rightness that a challenge to government has seemed to him an inherently evil thing. What he has therefore done is to discover a philosophic basis of the Defense of the Realm Act, without perceiving that, in reality, he has done no more than apotheosize his own emotions. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is no less admirable an Englishman than Professor Hearnshaw because he happened to believe in the Stockholm Conference. Indeed, if the duty of a citizen is to contribute his best personality to the public good, this book would suggest that Mr. Macdonald is not, relatively speaking, lacking in what citizenship implies. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain were not less anxious than Mr. Lloyd-George himself for the defeat of Germany; but that defeat, after all, was a problem in organization and the miners differed from Mr. Lloyd-George as to the methods by which it could best be solved. Professor Hearnshaw talks with confidence about the necessity of the party-system; yet he nowhere discusses the implications upon which it rests. You cannot have an adequate government by party unless there is a real source of division upon principle. Yet an observer would be baffled to discover any essential difference, as Sir Sidney Low has pointed out, between liberals and conservatives except a distinction in emphasis upon the methods of taxation.

At bottom, Professor Hearnshaw's analysis reduces itself to a suspicion of labor, especially British labor, as incompatible with the order he has known. He is himself a philosophic conservative of the school of Burke; and I take it that, like the latter, it is upon prescription that he would lay his emphasis. What makes his attitude unacceptable is his total refusal to face the obvious facts. He is concerned with political democracy where the main issue now turns upon democracy in industry. He is insistent upon the virtues of nationality where our main problem is so to assuage its bitterness as to allow it to flow into channels of international constructiveness. He is satisfied with the discovery of beneficent institutional purpose, where we, on the contrary, are concerned in the search for adequate

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realization of that purpose. He speaks with ease and confidence of the general will; yet it is difficult to see in that most superb of metaphysical miasmas anything more than a declaration that right and truth ought to prevail. He beatifies the rule of the majority without any sense that no conception is more vague or elusive and that majority-government, while psychologically satisfying to the majority, may be morally inadequate to its rivals. That there is an essential conflict between order and liberty escapes his notice. That the will of government may be a will merely representative of the holders of economic power, never dawns, as it seems, upon his consciousness. Professor Hearnshaw, with all his anti-Prussianism, is at bottom no more than a Hegelian who happens to believe in the British Parliamentary system instead of the Prussian bureaucracy. He has still to investigate every basic problem of political science—freedom, obedience, personality, sovereignty. He has still to discover the interrelation of politics and economics. He has still to realize the relation of federalism to the impulses it is our political business to call into play. This book explains why people still read the London Times and the Spectator; but it also explains the increasing diffusion of Mr. Lansbury's Herald and the Manchester Guardian.

The Macmillan Company does not usually desire to suppress its books; but it is difficult to explain on other grounds the price at which this has been issued.

H. J. L.

Patterns in History

Democratic Ideals and Reality, by H. J. MacKinder, M. P., New York: Henry Holt & Co.

CARDINAL NEWMAN wrote that "there is great pleasure, as is plain, at least to certain minds in..... reducing into order and meaning the maze of phenomena which nature presents to us." This pleasure Mr. MacKinder seeks and finds, and, having found it, he is unable to resist the temptation of calling his pleasure "reality." What he has done is to trace out a large pattern in the history of the world. The pattern happens to be that employed in the geographical interpretation of history. The pattern is dubbed "reality" because it embraces a considerable number of facts, and has the air of being symmetrical, ordered and conclusive. Now it is possible to see some of history as Mr. MacKinder sees it. But it is no less possible to see some of history as Hegel saw it, or Marx, or the Calvinists, or Bergson. But to call any one of these special ways of looking at events "reality" is an aesthetic, not a logical, proceeding.

The geographical pattern is one of the most suggestive that can be employed. The relation of the land masses of the globe to its waterways is no doubt one of the prime relations that have made history. But it is not history, and no one would ever think of calling it history if the generalization did not furnish a temporary grip upon an inconveniently complicated mass of facts. For the test of every generalization which claims to be "reality" is not whether it seems to bring order into the past but whether it reaches out effectively into the future. When Mr. McKinder looks ahead, one begins to suspect the validity of his method of looking backward. For one discovers strangely enough that the lesson of "reality" is almost identical with the latest war cries of the conservative party in the House of Commons. Mr. MacKinder, for example, is strongly in favor of transplanting the population of East Prussia in order to save the "Heartland" from becoming a base against "seapower." To this argument he appends a footnote "To meet the obvious argumentum ad hominem, let me say that I see no really comparable strategical necessities in the case of Ireland." It is really amazing how history justifies all of us. How does it happen that a British M. P. who is also a geographer should find "reality" pointing to exactly that programme of world leadership which the British Imperialist demands? The professor laureate was always thus.

These professors are inveterate mythologists. The patterns they obtrude upon history are what they or their governments desire to find there. The facts being inconceivably rich are capable of almost any kind of grouping and selection. So grouped and so selected they will support almost any cause, and their support is valuable for they seem to put it behind the momentum of all human experience. History is rewritten by each nation for every important occasion. There has never been such marvelous historical construction as the press bureaus are now busily turning out. These specially conducted views of the past are often illuminating. Of course they are. They bring out aspects of events which previous specially conducted views did not bring out. So we can learn something from Mr. MacKinder, as we can from Treitschke. The important thing is not to learn too much.

There is a reason, perhaps, why generalizations work so much better looking backward than they do looking forward. Life seems to be an irreversible and cumulative process. What has passed has taken form. There are no surprises left in it, because contingency has worked its effect. One can say with some truth that events became thus and so for these and these causes. But the causes which will make the future are still contingent, and only when the future is past shall we know what was the causa causans. What is now accidental, creative, and unpredictable will seem as inevitable as the glacial tides when it has happened.

This is the core of the problem known as the philosophy of history, and the question it raises is whether the past and the future can be comprised in the same intellectual apparatus. Is contingency merely another name for ignorance, or is there utterly unforseeable novelty in the world? Until we are clearer on this point all the long range views of history—economic, technical, geographical or theological—must be regarded as rather sketchy perspectives.

W. L.

A Prose Coogler

Fighting Byng, by A. Stone. New York: Britton Publishing Co.

IN old-fashioned stories, there was a great deal of overly well-rounded talk. I don't know whether it resembled the conversation of that day in the least, but, if it did, the conversation must, of course, have been fearfully eloquent, and the conversees must have had a great time thinking up impressive salvos to fire. You know the kind of thing I mean:—

> "No, no, sir knight; when Eveleyn Seton weds, it must be with one worthy of her hand; when Seton Manor owns a master, it must be one who will not disgrace its ancient halls!"

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The Case of the Rand School

THE RAND SCHOOL of Social Science, located in the People's House at 7 East 15th Street, New York City, has been unlawfully raided by the Lusk Investigating Committee and its agents, its property damaged, garbled quotations from its correspondence published broadcast, to the great detriment of the school in the minds of the public who know nothing of its well-established educational work in Socialism and allied subjects now in existence for thirteen years.

The school and its officers and teachers have been denied any hearing to present their side of the case and therefore are obliged to appeal to the people of the United States for the simplest right of self-defense.

Protests are being heard from many quarters. The following, from sources not in agreement with the theories taught by the school, may be cited:

From the *New York World* Editorial, July 10, 1919, Democrat.

"It is time for it (the Lusk Committee) to call a halt on itself and stick close to the business it was created to do. Its duty is to conduct an inquiry and to prepare a report to the Legislature as a guide to future action. It is not a tribunal expressly for the conviction of persons whose opinions its members dislike. In making itself judge, jury and prosecuting attorney it forgets its proper functions. It is solely a committee of investigation, with limited powers, which it seems none too well qualified to exercise."

From *The New Republic*, July 9, 1919. Liberal Weekly.

"Shall an instrument of oppression drawn from the repertory of the star chamber, used by the notorious Chief Justice Scroggs, denounced by the courts a century and a half ago, assailed by our colonial forbears as destructive of liberty and law, and condemned by the Supreme Court as 'abhorrent to the instincts of an American'—shall such an instrument be revived in the twentieth century under a constitution and form of government dedicated to liberty and justice?"

From the *New York Evening Post*, July 9, 1919. Republican.

"The proceedings [of the Committee] have been loose. Speeches by Bolshevist agitators and anarchist pamphlets found in the lobby of the Public Library are bundled into a blanket indictment against a Socialist institution of long standing, and, in general, against a party, unquestionably radical, which nevertheless has polled heavy votes in the nation and the city for many years."

From Samuel Untermeyer, Esq., to Hon. Clayton R. Lusk, Chairman Lusk Committee:

"Although it is well-known that I am a pronounced anti-Socialist because of my conviction that the governmental policies of Socialism are not practicable and workable and that as a constructive programme it is little more than an irridescent dream, I have always realized that the Socialist Party has been of great service and is destined to be of still greater service in curbing and correcting the greed and injustice of the capitalistic system and that its usefulness as an opposition party has been fully vindicated. . . .

"If you believe that these outrages against the proverbial American sense of fair play and your persistent refusal to give these people an opportunity to be heard will be tolerated, that they will not react against the repute and usefulness of your Committee, you little understand the American spirit."

All public spirited citizens who agree with the protests voiced above and desire to assist the Rand School in its desperate fight not only for its own right to exist, but for the right of the most fundamental constitutional protection for the people of the United States and their institutions, are invited to send in the attached slip with contribution.

BERTHA H. MAILLY,
Executive Secretary, Rand School for Social Service.

ALDERMAN ALGERNON LEE,
1186 Madison Ave., New York City.

I desire to contribute to the fund for the restoration and preservation of American liberties. Enclosed find $.....

Name.....

Address .....

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"Eveleyn!" exclaimed the knight, grasping his sword, "I know thee not in this strange mood; it is enough; when I am gone, think on thy words; no longer shall Hugh de Gasconville disgrace thine ancient halls! I have loved thee, but for thyself alone! I have wooed thee, but *not* for thy gold."

You may think this old tradition of eloquence in daily life has died out, but it hasn't. It changes its tone, and it is fading, but its echoes remain. Fighting Byng would be merely a poor novel if it was not for this: as it is, it is an interesting exhibit: quite atrocious, but fascinating. Imagine a modern man's being reported as saying, in an ordinary conversation with an old friend:

"Before we get away from here greater valor will be required, for our purpose is indeed ambitious; but I don't believe you can possibly exhibit more greatness than you did that night on Alligator Island."

Here is another bit, not so good, but a specimen of the general tone of the book:—

He advanced with long, graceful strides to meet me. He grasped my hand with a tremendous squeeze of heartiness and I am bound to confess that as he stood before me I could see in the makings the refined Howard Byng—man of affairs.

"Mr. Wood!" he began, fervently pressing my hand, "there is no living person I would rather see than you. How did you get here? How did you find this jumping-off place? I can hardly believe it is you."

"Howard"—I hesitated, feasting my eyes upon him—"it was indeed something of an accident that brought me here."

Mr. Wood is the man who tells the whole story. This is his description of his meeting with Mrs. Byng, when her refined Howard has deserted her:—

She struggled hard for composure. She was still delightfully unconscious of her physical charms.

"That's all I can think of now, unless, perhaps, that I still love my husband so much that the lure of men, to a lone, and, in a sense, deposed woman, is transparent and childishly laughable. This has enabled me to keep my womanhood as it should be," she added quietly, a soft glow spreading over her face. I was mystified.

But the desertion was due to a mistake after all. Howard had suddenly come in and seen her in another man's arms, and as is usual with husbands had misunderstood the situation completely. He goes away for fifteen years, returns still angry, and fortunately sees Mr. Wood, who assures him his wife's womanhood has really been intact the whole time. Husband and wife are then led into a room to meet each other. It is a wonderful moment, but Mr. Wood does not remain to describe it:—

We tiptoed out and went across the hall. Anyone who in sheer ghoulishness would have desecrated this holy reunion by listening to their tender words and witnessing their caresses must indeed stand in need of better manners, to say the least.

This ranks with some of the immortal rubber fanfares of J. Gordon Coogler. L. E. HEWSON.

Contributors

WILLIAM HARD, a regular contributor to the New Republic.

CLIVE BELL, an English literary critic. The author of Art, and Pot-Boilers.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, Secretary of the British Labour Party.

HARRY J. HIBSCHMAN, lately a lecturer in the Army Educational Corps of the A. E. F.

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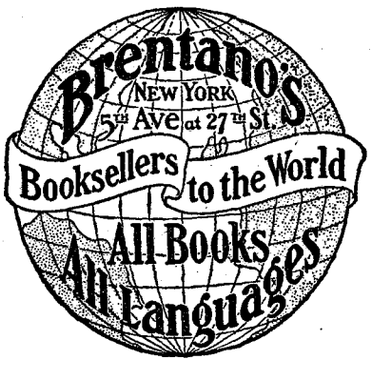

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